113
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● 825

Tupi-Guarani SL8
Bacairí SP7
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR7
Carib SR9 ●
Macusi SR11
Rucuyen SR12
Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see 3: Simpson, 8816 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

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224 Bush cow (Carib, maipuri; *Tapir Americanus*).
136 Birds of the following varieties, particularly:
262
Powis or bush turkey (*Crax* sp.).
Mamm (tinamou).
Dukwaru or djokoro.
Wicissi ducks.
Cock of the Rock (Carib, unknown to author; *Rupicola elegans*).

Bird eggs (particularly mamm eggs).
Rats.

262 The tchiri, a white worm which lives in the pith inside the stem
136 of the turu tree, is fried on the cassava pan and eaten. The kom-
252 buru worm which lives in decaying wood is also eaten. The Caribs do not eat tiger, snake, camudi (water snakes), monkey, chicken hawk, or "crows" (vultures). Abstinence from these forms of animal food is based on tribal taste and has no religious significance.

Kushie ants are occasionally consumed. They are parched on
● [825] the cassava pan and the abdomens are eaten. There is a long white worm which is always found in a kushie ant hill, called by the Indians two-headed, because the tail closely resembles the head. It is said to be the "mother of the ants," makoyumo (probably *Amphis baenae*). The muro frog, whose quacking sound is regarded as a sign of rain, is sometimes eaten and is said to taste like "young fowl."

The magico-religious beliefs and practices concerned with hunting will be taken up in the chapter on religion.

Methods of skinning the "accouri" are as follows: An incision is made from the neck to the sexual opening; branching incisions are then made to remove the hide of each of the legs; an incision is made encircling the neck; and the whole skin excluding that of the head is removed in one piece. The head is severed from the body, the abdominal cavity is opened by a sagittal incision in its anterior wall and the contents of the cavity are removed. The carcass is then dismembered for cooking. Essentially the same method is used for other fur or hair-bearing animals.

226 Fishing. European fish hooks are obtained in trade. If these
[177] are unavailable, hooks are made from common pins or from a
824 certain thorny bush of the jungle. Fish rods of yarriyarri (*Anaza-*

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481 tion of the line of march, and it is not infrequent for a trail to be carried for several hundred yards from one fallen log to another (Plate 26, *a*). Shallow streams are usually waded, but deeper streams and the river are more often crossed on logs which have fallen across the water.

482 Loads are generally carried in the walishas, or carrying baskets, which have been described in our chapter on basketry. The hammock and a few cakes of cassava bread are tucked into a corner of the walisha, and armed with his cutlass and bow or gun a man is ready for a journey of almost any length with a good load on his back. A party must of course always travel single file, and the eyes must be kept on the ground, in order to watch the footing and to beware of snakes and dangerous insects. If a snake is met on the trail, and this is a frequent occurrence since the reptiles apparently enjoy sunning themselves in the spots of sunlight, which are more often found on the trail, one cuts a long stick, and with it throws the snake into the bush without killing it. It is considered dangerous to slash the snake's head off with the cutlass, because, it is said, the severed head frequently flies off and fastens its jaws into an arm or a leg with unhappy results.

484 [825]

[562] A man going on a long journey usually prefers to take his wife and children with him. In such a case each one of the travelers, except children in arms, carries a load. I, however, saw no cases of the celebrated Indian custom which decrees that the wife shall carry all the load while the husband stalks majestically, unhampered, in the van.

[825] The Indians are admirable trackers, both of animals and humans. On many occasions I have verified the uncanny ability of the natives to ascertain from footprints, which to me were hardly visible, the species of animal which had passed by, and often the individual human beings. The Indians make a close study of people's feet, and can often tell by examining the foot prints who has passed over a trail.

501 824 **Water Transport.** Two types of craft are used in water transport, the korial and the woodskin. The korial (Carib, koriara) is a dugout canoe, the hull of which is made from a single log of wood. Konta wood (known to creoles also as counter and silverbelly) and sorodani are considered the best materials for making a korial, as they do not sink and are not so soft that they are easily

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(Freely: Do not look into my face that way, for, if you do, I shall never be able to forget you)[1].

As the affair progresses, the participants of course become progressively influenced by the drink, which is not intrinsically very strong, but which when taken in large quantities, steadily, for several hours produces all degrees of drunkenness. Restraints which are ordinarily practised are relaxed. On the one hand, an atmosphere of good fellowship prevails, individuals borrowing goods and taking privileges which would not even be mentioned during soberer hours. On the other hand, suppressed grudges are often brought to the surface and accounts settled with blows, a form of action which is seldom taken by a sober Carib. Men and women normally are extremely modest about exposing their sexual organs, even to members of their own sex, but during a drinking spree they can be seen urinating publicly and making jokes about it. However, I have seen no example of the practise which writers on the Guiana Indians have so frequently mentioned, namely, vomiting in order to increase one's drinking capacity. As the evening wears on the more enterprising men have usually arranged trysts with girls or women. The festivities gradually die a normal death as these couples slip off to their rendezvous, leaving the remainder of the party to drop into drunken sleep.

A spree continues until the supply of drink is exhausted. This is usually two or three days, and during this time the program of activity outlined above is vigorously kept up. When the beverage supply has come to an end the participants in the spree usually get into their hammocks and spend about twenty-four hours sleeping off the effects of the orgy before returning to their own homes.

The several forms of alcoholic stimulant have been described above. Tobacco remains to be mentioned. The tobacco plants grown by the Indians are of medium size, both as to height and leaves. They are planted from seed in the fields, and seedlings are sometimes, though not invariably, replanted after they have attained a height of a few inches. The great curse of the tobacco plants is a ground worm which destroys the roots. It is believed that planting the seed during the dark of the moon is favorable

[1] The author does not have sufficient familiarity with the Carib language to vouch completely for either the transliterations or the translations of these songs, which were obtained through interpreters. They have, however, been checked with three interpreters.

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249 because of the fact that worms are supposed to lay their eggs only
825 during the full moon. At intervals the soil around the roots is soaked with haiari juice (a fish poison), which is believed to kill the worms. When they have reached a proper size the leaves are
276 picked one by one. If the crop is plentiful, they are hung from the crossbeams of the house, over the fireplace, where they will be gradually dried and smoked. After being thus cured for a few weeks or months they may be twisted into coils, or "plugs," somewhat like "navy twist." Other growers simply make the leaves into small rectangular bales tied together with cord. If the crop is poor or the supply of smoking tobacco small, the leaves may be used green. In such a case, which is not infrequent owing to the improvident ways of the husbandmen, a green leaf is held in the hands over a bed of coals until it has been partially dried out and toasted a spotty brown color. It is then wrapped into a cigarette directly. In all cases the action of wood smoke is believed to have a mellowing effect on the tobacco.

Tobacco is used only for smoking purposes in the course of everyday life. (Tobacco juice is imbibed by medicine men and others on certain religious occasions, and it may be dropped in the eyes for medicinal purposes.) Tobacco is smoked exclusively
[824] in cigarettes by the natives. The inside bark of the kakareli tree (*Lecythis* sp.) is used as wrapper. Every man has a supply of this bark about his house, cut into long strips about one and one half inches broad. The outer bark of the tree is removed, and the inner bark taken off in these strips. One end of the strip is beaten with a stick or cutlass in order to separate the several layers of paper-thin tissue of which it is composed. A strip of tissue thus separated can be peeled off when it is to be used, and smoothed by laying it on a flat surface and scraping it with the edge of the cutlass. The tobacco is rolled into a thin, pencil-like cylinder between the palms, and then rolled into a strip of kakareli bark ten to twelve inches long. The tube of bark is tied together at each end and in the middle by thin threads of kakareli bark, which are stripped off the edge of the wrapper. A cigarette a foot or somewhat less in length is thus made, which has a not unpleasant taste. The bark apparently mitigates the strength and bite of the tobacco.

Pipes, cigars, chewing and other methods of employing tobacco are not used by the natives.

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account for its silent end, its resounder, and its generally Spanish name."[1]

The second type of musical instrument is the fiddle. Recently traders in the area have stocked cheap European violins, which the natives have bought with alacrity and strung with cotton thread. The home-made type of fiddle is, however, constructed from bamboo, as illustrated in Roth,[2] or is made from congo-pump, a soft grainless wood which springs up in abandoned clearings. All types of fiddles are strung with three cotton strings, the tones of which depend not upon their texture but upon their length and tautness. The home-made fiddle is about two feet long by about three inches wide. It is provided with pegs, bridge, and tail. In playing it, the Carib holds the tail against the shoulder rather than under the chin. It is a mistake to believe that these instruments are merely playthings used for making some sort of indiscriminate noise. The Carib tunes are studied carefully, and the public is quick to criticize inaccuracies on the part of a virtuoso.

The third type of instrument is the bone flageolet. This is usually made of the tibia of the tibisiri deer. A hole is made in the anterior margin of the superior epiphysis and shaped with mani gum, so that the stream of air is directed against the sharp edge of the anterior wall of the shaft. Three holes are provided at regular intervals. The sounds thus produced seem to harmonize, to an untrained ear at least, with those produced by the native fiddle. (See Plate 26, *b*).

Recently traders have introduced harmonicas or mouth organs into the region, and the Indians have taken them up with great energy. The mouth organ is at present, however, used only as a noise-making device, since the natives are as yet unable to master the harmonic scale.

Aside from songs sung to music, another form of literary effort common among the Caribs is story-telling. A number of folk tales are presented in our chapter on Myths. These comparatively formalized tales are told less frequently, however, than are extemporaneous yarns based upon personal experiences. At the end of each day, at home or on the river or the trail, the adults lie in their hammocks for some time before going to sleep and trade yarns. These are usually somewhat embellished and exaggerated

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 467.
[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, Fig. 239, B.

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776 piaiyen usually has contact with one or more tiger spirits, who may
791 be used by him to discipline the less ferocious spirits of his circle. The tiger spirits are believed to be the ghosts of dead tigers. All other animals also have spirits, which become ghosts upon their
[824] death. Boba root is used by the hunter as a protection against the spirit of any animal he may have killed. For instance, if he has
[789] killed a tiger or any other animal which has a dangerous spirit, he scrapes the roots of the boba tree and makes a salve which he puts on his skin. Then he crawls under the buttressed roots of any large tree. The boba salve is believed to entangle the spirit of the dead animal so that it can do no harm to the hunter. In crawling under the roots, the hunter scrapes the spirit off himself. Animals
[825] are also amenable to the machinations of spirits of beings and orders in addition to the tiger spirit. Thus, a dog that barks in its sleep is believed to be suffering from the interference of spirits. However, the only way in which a member of one of the five major classes of nature spirits can be killed (i.e. removed from interference in worldly affairs) is by being devoured by a tiger spirit.

776 Each cassava field is watched over by a spirit of the cassava
241 called Piuku. The precise connection between this being and the Ume or hill spirits, is not clear. It is believed that each hill in the bush is under the care of a group of Ume, who after the field is cut and cultivated, apparently abdicate in favor of the Piuku. The Ume live in a settlement of their own under the hill, which serves as a roof. The Piuku is not a member of the Ume order, but nevertheless it is not unfriendly toward the Ume. An abandoned field reverts to the Ume spirits, and in the rare cases of fields without cassava no Piuku is present. It is not believed, on the other hand, that each separate cassava plant has a spirit of its own, nor are the other plants of the field associated with spirits. Piuku is thus a sort of agricultural deity especially associated with cassava plants. Concerning the manifestations of the Piuku to human beings, an informant said, "Once my wife and I were digging cassava in a field. Nearby I hear a groaning m'm'm'm. I do not know what it is so I go to the piaiyen and he says it is the Piuku." Another informant said, "The piaiyen told me the Piuku is like a big white man big head, broad shoulders. Has a white skin covered with shiny buttons, but wears no clothes," a belief which is obviously acculturated.

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present time it is said that plant binas spring up from the ground where a large boa-constrictor has died. It is my view that this is a natural occurrence due to the fertilization of the soil offered by the decay of a large amount of organic matter. A rank growth of leafy plants is often seen to cover the spot where a carcass has lain a few weeks before. A thirty-foot camudi or boa-constrictor (not an unusual size for these snakes) is the largest animal body in the region, and naturally upon its death affords a fertile spot for the growth of wild plants, including those which may be used as binas.

Let us first consider the binas which are used to assist the hunter. These are of two major types, animal and vegetable.

The krapo (a certain kind of tree frog) bina is the best of all the binas, whether made from animal or vegetable. It is used by practically all members of the tribe and acquired shortly after a man is old enough to hunt. This frog imitates by its call several game animals in the bush, and the use of it, contrary to most bina substances, which are confined to one type of game, is considered to be generally efficacious in hunting all types of game. To prepare such a hunting charm, a man first captures a krapo. Then he makes a series of short parallel cuts on the inner side of the arm which is used to draw the bow string. The cuts run transversely across the branchio-radialis muscle. The hunter rubs some of the slime from the skin of the frog into these incisions, talking to the dead frog during the process and asking it for help in hunting. Next he takes the krapo home and chars it over a fire, after which he pulverizes the remains and puts the ashes away in a packet to be kept until the cuts on his arm start to heal. When the cuts have started to heal but are not yet closed, he rubs the ashes into the wounds, speaking an invocation which he composes himself. A typical phrase of invocation is, "tuamokau poriano ihi apameto paporo tonoyamo akara mako iwato" ("You must make me as you are. Let me hunt all kinds of meat. You must give me those things.") After the ashes have been rubbed into the arm, the user of the bina must remain in his house for three days. During this time he can eat only very thin cassava cakes and a little cassiri water with two very small peppers. If he eats meat during this time he will be unable to sight game when he goes hunting. Also at this period he must remain continent. Breaking of these

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778 224 825 tabus results in the failure of the bina to produce the desired results. On the fourth day the man goes into the bush, but merely looks for game and does not shoot anything. If during this stroll in the bush the man sees much game, he shoots a dukwaru bird (regarded as very hard to see in the forest), takes it to the nearest creek, crushes it, and washes his entire body, using the crushed meat of the dukwaru as he would use soap. Then he fishes until he catches a small silver-colored fish called muroko, and on the river bank crushes it and again washes himself, using the macerated body of the fish as he would use soap. It seems that the dukwaru and the muroko are considered to be the first fruits of the bina power. If these provisions are carried out faithfully, good luck will attend the efforts of the huntsman.

In addition to the krapo, the aruko worm is used as a bina. It is a tree worm of the centipede type, about four inches long, as big around as a man's finger, and is especially distinguished by the red and white marking which encircles the body. The red marking is apparently the explanation of the choice of this worm as a bina, as in the invocations which accompany its use, the worm is asked to give the hunter power to streak with red the bodies of the animals which he hunts, in the way in which the worm is colored, presumably referring to the blood which the hunter hopes to draw from his quarry. A man finds one of these worms in a tree, dislodges it with a stick, and takes it home wrapped in a leaf. In his house he chars it over the fire and makes it into a black powder, which is then rubbed into cuts in the arm, in the manner followed with the krapo bina. No slime or liquid from the worm is rubbed into the incisions, however, as was the case with the frog. The period of tabu following the completion of the bina is only one day in this case.

As far as I was able to discover, the krapo and the aruko worm are the only members of the animal kingdom used in making binas.

778 824 A large number of plants are used as binas. I have made no attempt to exhaust the lists of plants used for this purpose.

224 All plant binas are used as charms to assist the hunter in securing definite types of game; that is, each bina is efficacious only in the hunting of a certain species, and is chosen because of a resemblance, fancied or real, between some part of the plant and some

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the monster's tongues. On the theory of similarity and contact, the dog's nose absorbs the ability to hunt all things down. 789 224

Puppies are frequently protected from illness by a string of cotton tied around the right leg just above the point of the astragulus. The progress through the body of spirits which may have entered the animal through its feet is cut off by the string around the leg. 789 825

The shells of the large river snail, which bear a general resemblance to the globular gourd, are tied to gourd bushes as a means of insuring a good crop.

The snake is believed to live forever, because in changing its skin it becomes young again each year. The same is said to be true of the bush crab, which doffs its shell each year.

The larynx bones of the "howling baboon" (*Myeetes*) are charred, pulverized, mixed with water, and drunk as an infusion as a cure for coughs and throat trouble.

Dreams. If a man dreams of a dead person, he believes that he is actually seeing the ghost of the dead walking by at that moment. 828 787

If a person dreams of a faraway place, he believes that his spirit is visiting that place while he sleeps. "If I dream of Waini Saw Mill (a hundred miles away), it means that my spirit is out for a walk."

When a living person is seen in a dream, the Caribs have difficulty in explaining why the person in question did not dream that his spirit was at the point mentioned by the first dreamer. One informant was perplexed by the following: "Two times I dreamed the same dream. My brother and I were paddling a korial in the Wori-wori rapids (on the Barama) each time. But my brother did not dream that at all."

It is believed that when a man dreams of intercourse with a specific woman, the representation of her which he sees is merely the disguise assumed by a malevolent snake spirit, and that it is not the actual spirit of the woman in question. Certain female spirits take delight in assuming the forms of living women and appearing to men in dreams. An erotic dream of this sort is highly undesirable, because it is believed that a man will become seriously ill after such a dream unless he immediately confesses it to the other members of the settlement. The spirit which he sees in a dream of this sort will make the dreamer ill and try to kill him so

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828 that she can have him for herself, but will be frightened away if
787 the man makes a clean breast of the visionary intrigue. Snake-women spirits most commonly appear to men in dreams. If a man continues to dream in this way, the spirit woman will appear to him in the bush and will try to kill him. Prolonged dreaming of this sort can only be cured by a piaiyen. The Caribs, in common
[839] with most men, find that erotic dreams accompanying seminal emission practically disappear if a man is having regular intercourse with a woman, and explain this phenomenon on the theory that spirit women are too intelligent to attempt to seduce a man who is well satisfied with his earthly sexual life.

The case is related of a certain man who continued to dream in this way without saying anything about it. Finally the spirit with which he was consorting in his dreams became pregnant and gave birth to a child. Other people heard the baby crying in the bush. Going into the forest they were surprised to see the spirit woman appear to them holding a baby in her arms. The man said nothing, but became violently ill and only when he was dying did he tell the story of his experience and express the belief that the spirit was carrying him away.

These dream women seem to be connected with snakes and with
● [825] only a particular kind of snake, called timering akoyu, which, marked with red, white, blue, and green coloring, is considered very beautiful.

The figures of one's enemies are wont to appear in nightmares. Even if the enemies are not recognizable, the grotesque and hideous forms seen in nightmares are regarded as disguises of the spirits of persons who are plotting harm to the dreamer. A man who is bothered by repeated nightmares consults a sorcerer to discover what is afoot and thus nip any plots in the bud.

196 **Sex in Inanimate Objects.** Certain objects of material culture are thought of as having sex, according to their form. It cannot be said on the basis of my information that the conception embraces more than a rudimentary idea of animistic identification, nor does it seem that the sex of a given object is connected with the spirit of that object. On the whole, the sexual differentiation of certain objects seems to refer to purely qualitative differences. The form which is considered best is in each case identified with the male sex.

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hunter told the other to circle around the other side so as to head off the monster. He really did this in order to get rid of the unfortunate fellow, because he knew that his brother-in-law, not knowing how to hunt, would probably be a victim to the beast's appetite. The second brother-in-law was not very long by himself when he saw the two immense tongues, which always precede the monster, coming toward him. They came from two opposite directions to encircle him. Being afraid, he hastily climbed a tree, only to find the two red tongues climbing up the trunk after him like snakes, with the monster below. "What shall I do?" he asked himself. But he took out his cutlass and proceeded to cut the tongues as they came toward him, lopping off a small piece each time they advanced. Finally the monster died as the result of this treatment. The man looked down and saw a number of plant binas growing in the monster's side. He came down the tree, took the leaves, and rubbed them all over himself and bathed. Then he went home, killing meat all the way, a thing which he never before had been able to do. When he arrived home with the game, his brother-in-law asked him with surprise how he got all the game. "You sent me to die," said the other, "but I got all these binas from the body of the orupere and am now better off than ever." In this way men first learned the use of plant binas.

* * *

Several informants have told me that if you kill a large camudi (boa constrictor), leave the huge body to decay, and come back after a month, you will find plant binas growing among the bones. Another gigantic snake, called the Aramari, is said to live at the head of the Ianna creek. It is described as a sort of monster twined about the branches of a tree, in a small hill which can be seen from afar. One has to be careful when approaching because the Aramari numbs the senses of spectators, a squall comes up, and with a terrific suction the unwary spectator is drawn into the mouth of the snake, which hangs about six feet above the ground. Old time people used to go to the spot and tie themselves to trees in order to view the beautiful marks on the snake's skin. In this way they got inspiration for designs which they worked in mokru. No binas, however, are attributed to this monster. These tales I regard as elaborations of personal experiences with

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825 camudis met while hunting. And it is not unusual that the bina plants should grow up in ground made fertile by a decaying body.

4. A Man's Adventures Among the Vultures

773 539 One day a man was out hunting and he shot a carrion crow. When it fell down he saw that it was wearing boots on its feet and a jacket-like garment on its wings and back. "Eh, eh," he said in perplexity, "What's this?" And he took the boots and the jacket and put them on himself. He immediately soared up into the air and found that he could fly home. Arriving at his house, he took the magic boots and jacket off and put them under the rafters of his house. Another man came by one day and, seeing the strange articles of attire in the house, took them down and put them on. Before he knew what was happening he had flown into the air and, in spite of himself, the boots and the jacket carried him toward the west where, on the rocky tops of the mountains, is the home of all crows. He was carried to the house of the original owner of the boots, and he found the wife awaiting his return. He accordingly took his place as husband of the woman, because he now had the outward appearance of her erstwhile spouse, the dead crow. But the father-in-law, the wife's father, was suspicious. "This doesn't seem to be my son-in-law," he kept saying. "I must test him to see." So he told the newcomer that he wanted him to make a bench, but that it must be made to look like him (the crow father-in-law). The supposed son-in-law went out to fulfil the command, but could find no wood. The place was plentifully supplied, however, with very hard stone. He sat down in consternation. How was he to make a bench from stone? While he was in this quandary, the woodpecker came along, and upon finding out the trouble, assured the man that he would help him. Accordingly he set to work and in a very short time pecked out a fine bench from the stone. The son-in-law took the bench home, and the father-in-law laughed and was well pleased. "Ah, I see that I have a good son-in-law," he said. And the man again took his place with his assumed wife. But before long the father-in-law gave evidence again of suspicion. "To prove you are the man I think you are," he said to the son-in-law, "you must go out and build the frame for a house." With the help of the woodpecker, the man fashioned the posts, but he was unable to find a way to